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TAKE 1 OF 2 FBIS TRENDS 20 JUNE -- USSR

AR202245 FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE MEDIA ANALYSIS

VARYING SIGNS SUGGEST CHERNENKO LIMITED BY COLLECTIVE

SUMMARY

RECENT SIGNS SUGGEST THAT CHERNENKO IS MAKING LITTLE PROGRESS IN CONSOLIDATING HIS POSITION, PARTICULARLY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY ARENA. HE MAINTAINS A HIGH PROFILE AND HAS ACCUMULATED THE APPROPRIATE SYMBOLS OF OFFICE, BUT THE ACTIONS OF OTHER LEADERS AND AN UNUSUAL DISCUSSION OF COLLECTIVITY IN THE PRESS SUGGEST THAT CHERNENKO'S ACTIONS ARE CONSTRAINED BY HIS POLITBURO COLLEAGUES. A DISSONANT LINE IN SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ON SENSITIVE CADRE ISSUES UNDERSCORED CHERNENKO'S APPARENT LACK OF CONTROL OVER THE PRESS.

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE 12-14 JUNE CEMA SUMMIT MEETING PROVIDED THE LATEST EVIDENCE THAT CHERNENKO'S AUTHORITY ON FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS MAY BE LIMITED. IN ADDITION TO CHERNENKO AND PREMIER TIKHONOV, THE SOVIET DELEGATION INCLUDED FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND DEFENSE MINISTER USTINOV. IN CONTRAST, NONE OF THE EAST EUROPEAN DELEGATIONS INCLUDED FOREIGN MINISTERS OR DEFENSE MINISTERS, NOR WERE THE SOVIET DEFENSE AND FOREIGN MINISTERS PART OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE PREVIOUS CEMA SUMMIT IN 1969. BOTH IN 1969 AND THIS YEAR ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO ALSO ATTENDED THE SUMMIT.

Count for Chernenko.

THE SUMMIT ALSO PROVIDED NEW EVIDENCE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY GORBACHEV'S LEADING ROLE IN THE CHERNENKO REGIME. AT THE OPENING SESSION ON 12 JUNE HE WAS SEATED NEXT TO CHERNENKO (TIKHONOV WAS ON CHERNENKO'S OTHER SIDE) IN A HIGHER RANKING POSITION THAN EITHER GROMYKO OR USTINOV. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME GORBACHEV APPEARED TO RANK ABOVE GROMYKO SINCE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DEATH OF ANDROPOV IN FEBRUARY. AT THAT TIME BOTH GORBACHEV AND TIKHONOV STOOD NEXT TO CHERNENKO AT LYING-IN-STATE CEREMONIES. AT ANDROPOV'S FUNERAL IN RED SQUARE AND AT SUBSEQUENT LEADERSHIP LINEUPS, HOWEVER, GORBACHEV HAD APPEARED IN A LOWER RANKING POSITION.

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COMPLEMENTS EARLIER SIGNS THAT CHERNENKO'S AUTHORITY ON FOREIGN POLICY MAY BE CONSTRAINED. GREETINGS WERE CONVEYED BY USTINOV DURING HIS 5-10 MARCH VISIT TO INDIA AND BY FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER ALIYEV DURING HIS 10-13 MARCH VISIT TO SYRIA, NOT CHERNENKO, TIKHONOV AND GROMYKO. ON SIMILAR OCCASIONS IN THE PAST, LEADERS TRAVELING ABROAD HAVE CUSTOMARILY BROUGHT GREETINGS EITHER FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY OR FROM THE LEADERSHIP AS A WHOLE. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO THE 13 MARCH PRAVDA, CHERNENKO, SPEAKING TO WEST GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADER VOGEL, DREW ATTENTION TO THE "LINE COLLECTIVELY WORKED OUT AND CONDUCTED BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP" IN BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY.

COLLECTIVITY

AN UNUSUALLY STRONG EMPHASIS ON COLLECTIVITY WAS CONTAINED IN AN AUTHORITATIVE ARTICLE ON THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF ANDROPOV'S BIRTH. THE UNSIGNED ARTICLE, PUBLISHED IN THE 15 JUNE EDITIONS OF PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA AND SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA IS STRIKING IN ITS FREQUENT REFERENCES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP. IN A REFERENCE THAT APPEARED TO APPLY TO CHERNENKO, IT STATED THAT ANDROPOV SHOWED TIRELESS CONCERN "FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF LENINIST NORMS AND PRINCIPLES OF PARTY LIFE AND ENSURING COLLECTIVELY IN THE WORK OF PARTY ORGANS--FROM THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO TO LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEES." SIGNIFICANTLY, THE ONLY TWO QUOTATIONS FROM CHERNENKO INCLUDED IN THE ARTICLE BOTH STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVITY. THIS ARTICLE CONTRASTS WITH A MORE TRADITIONAL MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO BREZHNEV PUBLISHED A YEAR AFTER HIS DEATH IN THE SAME THREE PAPERS, WHICH MADE NO MENTION OF COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP.

Collectivity may be Chernenko's line to guard against purges

THE EMPHASIS IN THE 15 JUNE ARTICLE ON COLLECTIVITY WAS BALANCED SOMEWHAT BY THE REFERENCE TO THE "POLITBURO HEADED BY CHERNENKO." USE OF THIS FORMULATION IS GROWING. IN THE IMMEDIATE WAKE OF HIS ELECTION AS GENERAL SECRETARY IN FEBRUARY, THE FORMULA WAS FREQUENTLY USED AT LOCAL MEETINGS AND REPORTED IN THE REPUBLIC PRESS, BUT USUALLY DELETED FROM PRAVDA ACCOUNTS. MORE RECENTLY PRAVDA HAS BEGUN TO USE THE FORMULATION. WHERERS CEREMONIES REPORTED IN PRAVDA OF 5, 17, AND 24 APRIL REFERRED TO ELECTION OF AN HONORARY PRESIDIUM CONSISTING OF THE POLITBURO, PRAVDA'S REPORTS OF CEREMONIES ON 19, 23, AND 28 MAY INCLUDED ELECTION OF THE POLITBURO "HEADED BY" CHERNENKO.

(MORE)

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///"HEADED BY" CHERNENKO.

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'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA

THE PERSISTENT STRESS IN SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ON THE NEED FOR YOUNGER LEADERS, SUGGESTS A LACK OF CLEAR CENTRAL CONTROL OVER THE PRESS. AN EDITORIAL ON 20 MAY ARGUED IN UNUSUALLY STRONG TERMS FOR TRANSFERRING POWER TO THE NEXT GENERATION. IT STATED THAT UNLIKE OLDER CADRES, "YOUNG PEOPLE DO NOT CARRY THE BURDEN OF OUT-OF-DATE HABITS" AND "MORE EASILY GRASP PROGRESSIVE IDEAS AND BOLD CONCEPTS." THE EDITORIAL SUGGESTED THAT OLDER LEADERS SHOULD RETIRE IN FAVOR OF TALENTED YOUNGER LEADERS. ADMITTING THAT SUCH ACTION IS "NOT EASY," THE EDITORIAL PRAISED THE DECISION TO "STEP ASIDE OF ONE'S OWN ACCORD" AS EVIDENCE OF A "REALLY KEEN SENSE OF DUTY." IT CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS NOW A NEED FOR YOUNGER LEADERSHIP "IN EVERY AREA."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA'S EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR YOUNGER LEADERS DATES BACK TO THE EARLY DAYS OF THE ANDROPOV REGIME. THE PAPER'S REFORM-MINDED FIRST DEPUTY EDITOR, VALENTIN CHIKIN, HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN ARGUING THIS CAUSE. IN A 22 JANUARY 1983 ARTICLE, FOR EXAMPLE, HE STRESSED LENIN'S CONCERN ABOUT THE AGE AND HEALTH OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND HIS CONVICTION THAT THE "LEADING CENTER SHOULD ABSORB PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT GENERATIONS" FOR THE SAKE OF CONTINUITY. MORE RECENTLY IN THE 22 APRIL 1984 ISSUE OF THE PAPER HE DREW ATTENTION TO LENIN'S CONCERN TO BRING "FRESH FORCES" INTO THE LEADERSHIP.

Chernenko may be trying to capitalize on the youth issue without seeming to attack his mentor.

APPARENTLY UNDER PRESSURE, CHIKIN EXPRESSED A MORE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF THE CADRES ISSUE IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN AN APRIL 1984 ISSUE OF KOMMUNIST (NO 6). CONCERNED ABOUT PARTY FACTIONALISM, HE DREW ATTENTION TO THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF A 1923 EFFORT TO DIVIDE YOUNG PARTY LEADERS FROM THE OLDER GENERATION. HE QUOTED LENIN'S WIFE AS SAYING THAT "UNTIL NOW AGE HAS BEEN DISREGARDED IN OUR PARTY" BECAUSE "OUR OLDER GENERATION HAS BEEN AT THE VERY CENTER OF STRUGGLE." A SIMILAR ARGUMENT FOR PARTY UNITY WAS PRESENTED BY THE CONSERVATIVE HISTORIAN YEVGENIY BUGAYEV IN THE SAME ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL, SUGGESTING THAT CHIKIN'S ARTICLE WAS PARTY OF HIGH-LEVEL EFFORT TO PROMOTE PARTY UNITY AND TO STILL DISCONTENT OVER THE AGE AND POLICIES OF THE LEADERSHIP.

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SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA HAS DIFFERED FROM THE GENERAL LINE ON OTHER OCCASIONS, AND THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNS THAT THE PAPER MAY BE COOL TOWARD CHERNENKO. A EULOGY FOR ANDROPOV BY CHIKIN IN THE 13 FEBRUARY SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA WAS WARMER IN TONE THAN THOSE CARRIED BY OTHER MAJOR NEWSPAPERS AND PARTICULARLY PRAISED ANDROPOV'S ENERGETIC LEADERSHIP DURING HIS YOUNGER YEARS. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE SUCCESSION, ON 16 FEBRUARY THE PAPER CARRIED AN EDITORIAL WHICH WAS MORE POSITIVE IN ITS PRAISE OF ANDROPOV AND COOLER TOWARD CHERNENKO THAN SIMILAR EDITORIALS IN OTHER MAJOR DAILIES. FURTHERMORE, THE FIRST EDITION OF THE PAPER ON 2 MARCH DROPPED A REFERENCE TO CHERNENKO AS "HEAD" OF THE POLITBURO THAT WAS CARRIED IN ALL OTHER CENTRAL PAPERS; IT WAS INSERTED IN THE SECOND EDITION OF SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

THE EDITOR OF SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 55-YEAR-OLD MIKHAIL NENASHEV, HAS BEEN OUTSPOKEN IN THE PAST. FOR EXAMPLE, IN A LONG 9 OCTOBER 1980 ARTICLE HE CALLED FOR AN OPEN DEBATE ON "WHAT SERIOUSLY HAMPERS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR PROPAGANDA" AND RECOMMENDED THAT IDEOLOGISTS MAKE USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES TO HELP IMPROVE THEIR WORK. A ONETIME TEACHER, HE HAS HAD CONSIDERABLE EXPERIENCE IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK: AS CHELYABINSK IDEOLOGY SECRETARY FROM 1968 TO 1975, THEN AS DEPUTY HEAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT UNTIL 1978. SHORTLY AFTER NENASHEV TOOK OVER AT SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA IN 1978, HE PROMOTED OUTSPOKEN DEPUTY EDITOR CHIKIN TO FIRST DEPUTY.

(ENDALL)

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